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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 673rd MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 21 March 1994, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria)

- International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

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The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.m.

International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

The CHAIRMAN: I declare open the 673rd meeting of the Special Committee against Apartheid, a solemn meeting devoted to the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which was proclaimed by the General Assembly and is universally observed on 21 March of every year.

This International Day marks the thirty-fourth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, which took place in 1960, an incident in which a number of innocent, black South Africans were brutally assassinated while peacefully demonstrating against the infamous pass laws imposed by the apartheid regime. In all, 69 people lost their lives, while many others were wounded.

While the people of South Africa are moving forward to close the sad and painful chapter of apartheid through the conduct of the first democratic and non-racial elections, this observance today should be a reminder to all of us that South Africans - particularly, the black majority - deserve the support of the international community to build a united, democratic and non-racial society. This may very well be the last observance in this format. The Special Committee is honoured to have steadfastly defended the right of the people of South Africa to eradicate racial discrimination in its worst form, apartheid, rightly condemned by the General Assembly as a crime against humanity.

I should like warmly to welcome the participation in this important meeting of the President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally; the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali; the President of the Security Council, His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bernard Mérimée; and the Chairman

(The Chairman)

of the African Group of States for the month of March, His Excellency Mr. Gaëtan Ouedraogo; as well as the Permanent Representatives of Member States, our guests from South Africa and the representatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations.

Allow me first to make a statement on behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

Today we honour the memory of the 69 peaceful demonstrators who were massacred in Sharpeville, South Africa, 34 years ago. This Day also serves as an opportunity to rededicate ourselves and redouble the efforts of the international community to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. This is of the utmost importance, since we are witnessing in many parts of the world various barbaric abuses and violations of human rights rooted in racial or ethnic hatred. The total eradication of the worst form of racial discrimination - apartheid - in South Africa will be an outstanding event in the history of mankind and will set a much needed example for the whole world to follow.

Today we are on the eve of the emergence of a new society in South Africa, a society in which all South Africans, irrespective of their race, can see the prospects of living in harmony as equal citizens of a democratic country. We in the Special Committee against Apartheid are proud that our Committee, which over the years has played a leading role in mobilizing international opinion against apartheid, has also been able to contribute to the positive changes taking place in South Africa.

A small, high-level delegation of the Special Committee, which I am privileged to have chaired, has only recently returned from a fact-finding mission to South Africa aimed at updating our

(The Chairman)

appreciation of events there and holding consultations with a wide spectrum of opinion in the country. The mission took its members to Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, East London and Port Elizabeth. The members of the mission had, inter alia, an opportunity to follow the proceedings in the Transitional Executive Council, which was set up to supervise governmental policies in crucial areas in the period leading up to the elections. We were impressed by the seriousness, thoroughness and skill with which the business of the Transitional Executive Council was conducted and handled and by its members, which, in our view, augurs well for a future government of national unity.

The mission also attended the parliamentary session at which further amendments to the interim constitution were presented. Members of the delegation were also given a full and detailed briefing by the Chairman and several members of the Independent Electoral Commission and also met with the Chairman of the Goldstone Commission and the Secretariat of the National Peace Committee. Detailed briefings were also provided by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, and by the leaders of the observer teams from the Commonwealth, the European Union and the Organization of African Unity. In Cape Town, East London and Port Elizabeth, representatives of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) provided further briefings on the situation in their respective areas of responsibility, and meetings were held with representatives of the local peace structures. With particular reference to voter education, the delegation met with representatives of the leading non-governmental organizations in that field: the Independent

(The Chairman)

Forum on Electoral Education, the Malla Trust and the Institute for Democratic Alternative in South Africa. These organizations have been doing outstanding work and will no doubt continue and further expand this essential aspect of free and fair elections.

This is also true in the case of the structures for promoting the Peace Accord in South Africa and all those parties, groups and individuals representing them that, in an often very adverse environment, keep up the work of the peace committees. While it may be true that in certain particularly difficult areas the main parties involved in rivalry or conflict may be using the peace structures as platforms for electioneering or may even absent themselves from them, in most cases the patient work of peace-committee workers and participants continues to alleviate tensions and conflict throughout South Africa. The sum total of the activities of those actively involved in the peace structures has contributed to saving lives and promoting a climate conducive to free and fair elections.

The mission was equally impressed by the commitment and confidence of the members of the Independent Electoral Commission, whose daunting task it is, now only six weeks from the election dates, to organize and provide the logistics for the election, set up the more than 9,000 polling stations and counting centres, monitor the elections, ensure the protection and security of voters and others involved, as well as the security of the polls, and provide voter information and education to an electorate the majority of which have never before been allowed to participate in a democratic process and to cast their votes.

(The Chairman)

Permit me to commend the excellent work being carried out in this respect by UNOMSA under its original and expanded mandate. Under the able leadership of Mr. Brahimi, assisted by Ms. Angela King, UNOMSA is getting fully prepared for the huge task of observing the arrangements for electioneering and the actual conduct of the elections. It is also prepared to coordinate the activities in that regard of all observers sent by international organizations and national Governments. We are confident that the presence, organization and commitment of UNOMSA and its staff will be an absolutely essential factor in helping to achieve successful democratic elections next month in South Africa.

I referred earlier to the amendments to the interim constitution and to the electoral Act presented to and adopted by the South African Parliament while our mission was in South Africa. We commend the political wisdom and flexibility demonstrated by the main participants in the Multi-Party Negotiating Council, who have bent over backwards to encourage those who have chosen to put themselves outside that framework to join the electoral process. Recently some parties that have until now chosen not to participate in procedures available to them have suggested that the elections be postponed. We do not presume to give advice to the parties in South Africa, which have themselves so successfully developed a process for political negotiation and problem-solving. But we cannot fail to register our worry that a possible postponement of the elections may cause further confusion and further resentment among those millions of South Africans who have never been allowed to vote before and may further aggravate tension and cause further

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violence and loss of life, without alleviating the tensions and violence that may accompany the elections, regardless of when they are held.

It is also important to know that the financial and human resources which are now being pulled together by the international community to assist the South Africans in their first fully democratic elections are not without limit. The elections will allow those who claim that they have wide support to show their strength at the polls.

The democratic process would also allow those parties which fear that they will not fare well at the elections to remain in the system and to negotiate further areas of concern to them in a new Parliament, which will also be the Constituent Assembly. We urge that this democratic process be allowed to play itself out and wish to add that there can be no understanding or support from the international community for those who, fearing defeat at the polls, darkly threaten with violence and intimidation those who wish to exercise their right to vote. Let there be no misunderstanding about that.

The international community takes justifiable pride in the role it has played and the commitment it has shown so far towards the attainment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa. It is nevertheless important to point out that, as the socio-economic dimensions of South Africa's transition come into focus, the international community should begin to address seriously and urgently the requirements of the disadvantaged sectors of South African society. Immense material, financial and other assistance will be needed in the areas of human resources development and of

(The Chairman)

employment, health and housing. The majority of the people of South Africa would want the international community not to abandon them after the elections in April this year. They want the international community to work with them creatively and with generosity in the enormous task of reconstruction after apartheid is dead and buried.

The Special Committee against Apartheid strongly supports the view that it is the moral responsibility of the international community to continue fully to assist the South African people on their long road to building a harmonious and prosperous nation and thus to enhance the prospects for peace, progress and stability not only in that country but in the subregion and the African continent as a whole.

I wish to say in conclusion that this may well be the last time that we hold a solemn meeting on this day set aside as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. By the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly the Special Committee hopes to be able to submit to the General Assembly a final report proudly stamped "Mission Accomplished". If all goes well - and there are sound reasons for believing that it will - that obnoxious system of institutionalized racism, apartheid, that crime against humanity, will have been eradicated in South Africa. While the Special Committee against Apartheid is proud of its contribution to such a befitting burial of apartheid in South Africa, the international community must realize that, as far as the total and complete elimination of racial discrimination in the world is concerned, the struggle continues.

(The Chairman)

I now have the honour and pleasure to invite the President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Samuel Insanally, to make a statement.

Mr. INSANALLY (President of the General Assembly): This Day marks the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, in which 69 innocent black South Africans lost their lives. That tragedy shook the conscience of the world community and led the General Assembly to proclaim 21 March as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. By commemorating this Day, we once again condemn and reject racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations. We also use this occasion to express our resolute opposition to any form of discrimination based on race, colour, creed and national or ethnic origin.

The United Nations has always stood for the equal rights of all people. The principles codified in its Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights compel us all to stand against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. Our Organization made a critical contribution towards the peaceful elimination of apartheid when the General Assembly, at its sixteenth special session in December 1989, adopted by consensus the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. The developments which have occurred in South Africa since the adoption of that historic Declaration have repeatedly underscored its relevance and importance. Subsequent resolutions adopted by the General Assembly have reaffirmed the provisions of the Declaration. The decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and the important efforts of the Secretary-General have all had a positive impact on developments in South Africa.

(The President of the General Assembly)

Today, for the first time, we can express our confidence that apartheid will soon have been eradicated from South Africa. The momentum for the establishment of a democratically elected Government now seems unstoppable. Next month the right to vote will finally be extended to all South Africans, regardless of race, enabling them to determine the future of their country. With the progress achieved in the last few months, and in particular the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, the South Africans have sent a clear message to the world that reconciliation and harmony in a racially mixed country are possible. At a time when entire communities are suffering from a mounting wave of nationalism, racial and ethnic discrimination and racially motivated acts of violence, this is an important message indeed.

However, the process of transition in South Africa is still threatened by political violence and intimidation. The continued violence in Natal and the recent events in Bophuthatswana demonstrate once again the fragility of the political situation in the country and the need to adopt more stringent measures to curb this violence. As requested by the General Assembly at its last session, all parties should refrain from acts of violence and recommit themselves to the process of peaceful transition by implementing the provisions of the National Peace Accord. Political tolerance, the promotion of democratic values and the protection of human rights are essential in building a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

While much of the violence is politically motivated, its escalation must also be seen to be linked to the deteriorating socio-economic situation and dismal living conditions faced by the

(The President of the General Assembly)

majority of South Africans. Illiteracy and extremely high levels of unemployment are additional aggravating factors. There is therefore an urgent need for programmes of socio-economic assistance to be put into place. Resources will have to be mobilized for the enormous tasks of reconstruction and rehabilitation to reverse the destructive effects of decades of apartheid. The lifting of economic sanctions, decided by the General Assembly last fall, was a step in this direction.

What is now needed is the persistent and active involvement of the international community in rendering economic assistance to South Africa. The victims of apartheid have high expectations that the new democratic order will mean tangible economic and social advancement for them. Those expectations should be decisively addressed. It will require tremendous efforts from South African society as well as a significant input of resources from the international community. The historic opportunity that has now emerged in South Africa must succeed for the benefit not only of that country, but also of the world.

It must not be forgotten that racial discrimination continues to prevail in many other places. We must therefore look beyond South Africa and strive to conquer this evil wherever it exists. In this regard, we should seek to give full effect to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, by which the international community has agreed to guarantee the human rights of all peoples. Racial discrimination has no place in a world which we, the membership of the United Nations, have pledged to rid of social injustice.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my distinct honour and pleasure to invite our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to make a statement.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL (interpretation from French): It was in 1966 that the General Assembly decided to institute an International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination to commemorate the Sharpeville massacre, in South Africa, which a few years earlier had aroused world-wide public indignation. It is easy to see how far we have come since then, because South Africa today provides us with an encouraging glimmer of hope.

Next month, the first universal elections are to be held there, elections which will be both democratic and non-racial. The international community can therefore wholeheartedly welcome the dismantling and the ending of the apartheid regime, which for so long sullied that part of the world.

We are all aware of the difficulties involved in the ongoing process. The United Nations will not slacken its efforts nor will it shirk providing assistance to South Africa in this delicate transitional period.

The Organization, which had sent out a civilian observer mission and then expanded its mandate in order to make it an efficient instrument for electoral assistance, has now substantially increased the number of those electoral observers, who are to total 1,800 when the elections are held.

We are all aware today of the fragility of this electoral process and of the constant threat posed by violence and intolerance. But we are also aware that, thanks to the determination and courage of the leaders and the will of the vast majority of the South African population, as well as the

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encouragement of the international community, the struggle against discrimination will triumph - a struggle in favour of the democratic process and the work of reconciliation.

Lest we forget, the advent of a non-racial and pluralistic democracy in South Africa will require vast international assistance to eliminate the wide social and economic disparities which are the legacy of many decades of apartheid. In this context, I am truly gratified that the United Nations is in a position to provide its own valuable contribution to South Africa.

In that spirit, the international conference to be held in Johannesburg next June on the development of human resources in post-apartheid South Africa is an important stage in the long process of social and political normalization of the situation there. On this Day of commemoration we can draw a lesson from current developments in that part of the world: the imperatives of democracy and the goal of eradicating racial discrimination are inseparable; the struggle against racial discrimination is part and parcel of the fight to promote democracy. It is democracy - the guarantor of social peace and civil equality - that is defeating racial discrimination. But we can ill afford to let our guard down, because, despite our successes, the world is still beset by breeding-grounds of hatred and exclusion, which must be eliminated.

Racial discrimination, in its various forms, has spread everywhere like an infection. Continuing affronts against human dignity, acts of racism and xenophobia and the growing wave of intolerance are all clear signs that we must not relax our vigilance. These phenomena are intolerable. We must learn to track them down relentlessly, because behind whatever new forms they may take on lurk the old demons of hatred and exclusion.

(The Secretary-General)

The elimination of racial discrimination is still an arduous task for the United Nations, one which will require constantly renewed action. We are all very well aware of this.

In this connection, we should welcome the fact that the Human Rights Commission has decided to appoint a Special Rapporteur to study contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination and xenophobia, as well as all their concomitant manifestations of intolerance. For its part, the World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna last June, clearly reiterated the concern of the international community to remain alert in its ongoing struggle against racism and racial discrimination.

The Vienna Declaration rightly calls upon United Nations organs and agencies to redouble their efforts to implement a programme of action related to the Third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

It is equally fitting that the World Conference on Human Rights has also urged all Governments

> "to take immediate measures and to develop strong policies to prevent and combat all forms and manifestations of racism, xenophobia or ... intolerance". (A/CONF.157/24 (Part I), p. 34, para. 20).

Indeed, Governments must adopt appropriate legislation to neutralize racist impulses and discriminatory tendencies.

It can be seen that we have reached a crossroads in our struggle against racial discrimination. On the one hand, hope is emerging that a democratic solution will be reached in South Africa, and there is an expectation of national reconciliation. But elsewhere, on the other hand, in many parts of the world there

(The Secretary-General)

looms the threat of intolerance, further exacerbated by the growing wave of the micronationalisms which are vehicles for all types of exclusiveness.

May this International Day, therefore, be an occasion for us to be more than ever at the ready to combat the outbursts of hatred that can tear us asunder, and may this International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination give us the opportunity to express once again our faith in the equality of men and women and in the imprescriptible value of the human individual.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bernard Mérimée, President of the Security Council, to address the meeting.

Mr. MÉRIMÉE (France) (interpretation from French): First of all, Mr. Chairman, I should like to thank you and the other members of your Committee for inviting me to take part, as President of the Security Council, in this observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

This meeting is taking place at a crucial time for South Africa. Thirty-four years ago, on 21 March 1960, there occurred the appalling massacre at Sharpeville in which members of the black community in South Africa, demonstrating courageously against the racist regime, were subjected to the brutality of the South African police. Today South Africa is preparing to close, once and for all, the sorry chapter of apartheid, which caused incalculable suffering for the black populations of South Africa and of other countries of the region.

The elections soon to be held in South Africa are a turning-point in the social, economic and political transformation of the country. For millions of people, they are an assurance that South

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Africa is evolving towards a society free of all forms of segregation and rid of the odious apartheid regime.

These are the first democratic and non-racial elections in South Africa's history. The members of the Security Council therefore sincerely hope that all South Africans will be able to take part in the voting from 26 to 28 April in an atmosphere free of violence and intimidation. All South Africans must endeavour to ensure that these elections, which will most certainly have important consequences throughout southern Africa, are exemplary.

The international community, and in particular the members of the Security Council, will continue to give their full support to the ongoing democratic process. By adopting resolution 894 (1994) on 14 January, the members of the Council decided to provide as many guarantees as possible with a view to ensuring that these historic elections are impartial. Nearly 1,800 observers will be sent to South Africa to monitor the electoral process. Many other observers will be provided by States Members of the United Nations or of regional organizations.

In view of the mechanism that will thus be set up, it is essential that all parties in South Africa refrain from any moves against the safety of the international observers and that they assist them in carrying out their mandate.

The international community regards the elections as an extraordinary event and therefore one that must not fail.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the Permanent Representative of Burkina Faso, His Excellency Mr. Gaëtan Ouedraogo, Chairman of the African Group of States for the month of March, to address the meeting.

Mr. OUEDRAOGO (Burkina Faso) (interpretation from French): On this day, when we are marking the thirty-fourth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, in South Africa, and the twenty-eighth anniversary of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, allow me, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the African Group of States, to pay tribute to the memory of the victims of racial discrimination wherever that evil exists, and also to commend the work accomplished by the Special Committee against Apartheid.

Mr. Chairman, this is also an opportunity for me to commend your country, Nigeria, for the eminent role it has played at the head of this Committee. You yourself, Sir, have swayed us and persuaded us with your great human and professional skills, reflected in your diplomatic talent, combining conciliation and determination. I ask you, therefore, on our behalf, to express our gratitude and appreciation to all the other members of the Committee.

Apartheid is not dead. It continues to kill on the streets of South Africa's towns and suburbs, on its roads and in its villages. And its consequences will for long continue to torture the bodies and souls of the South African people and the other peoples of southern Africa. This is a fact; one we must live with.

The South African people, Africa as a whole and the international community have struggled without respite for long decades to see apartheid, now in its death throes, free its shackled children from their chains. Negative assumptions, prejudices, hatred, violence and bloodshed are a bitter legacy of this situation, for it is true that he who oppresses another is not free. The oppressor and the oppressed are sooner or later sucked into the downward spiral that leads to the legacy I have described.

(Mr. Ouedraogo, Burkina Faso)

However, endurance, perseverance, determination, clear-sightedness, vitality, ingenuity, courage and dynamism - all qualities deployed and developed throughout this struggle for liberty and dignity - are also a rich legacy that can be drawn upon by the many thousands and millions of South Africans, of every race and social level, that want to live together and build their future together.

That is why, despite our legitimate concerns, we appreciate and support the current preparations for the 27 April elections.

Secondly, we appeal to all parties and to all South Africans to participate in these elections, the first in South Africa in which every man will bear witness to his regained human status, his restored dignity, his freedom, which he can now express, and his destiny, which he now controls.

Thirdly, we ask all the political leaders of South Africa to have their followers refrain from resort to violence and to cease feeding the climate of violence that we all deplore.

Fourthly, we appeal to the international community to participate fully, by investing human, financial and material resources, in the reconstruction of South Africa.

South Africa has a long road ahead of it, with many stages. A new stage is now beginning, which we hope will enable South Africa very soon to occupy its seat among us within the community of nations.

Those are the few words I wanted to add, Sir, on behalf of the African Group, to the statements made by you, by the President of the General Assembly, by the President of the Security Council and by the Secretary-General as we participate in a commemorative

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meeting of the Committee against Apartheid. It could easily be the last, if, as we all hope, apartheid, against which we have been struggling, receives a final and fatal blow with the elections of 27 April. That is the wish of the African Group and of Africa.

Before concluding, I wish to repeat the appeal that has just been made by the Secretary-General, who asked us to be constantly vigilant against racial discrimination, which continues to exist and to spread throughout the world like gangrene. The fight, therefore, must continue.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the pleasure of inviting Mr. Welile Nhlapo, member of the Directorate of the Department of International Affairs of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), to make a statement.

Mr. NHLAPO (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): As we gather here today to mark one of the darkest episodes in South African history, the massacre in 1960 of unarmed men, women and children in Sharpeville, the people of Sharpeville, as, indeed, the people of South Africa as a whole, are in 1994 poised to usher in a democratic dispensation which will guarantee that there will be no more Sharpevilles.

On 26 April through 28 April, South Africa goes to the polls in its first-ever democratic elections. By this act, they will put the final nail in the coffin of apartheid and thus vindicate the countless sacrifices made by the people of that embattled country and people of conscience the world over.

Members of the Committee will no doubt have been following the developments in South Africa and will have realized that the democratization process which is under way has reached a critical

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stage. Despite the numerous difficulties, including the escalating political violence in certain parts of Natal and the East Rand, the forces of democracy have scored important victories, including the following.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and its sub-councils are firmly in place. There can be no doubt that no major political decision can be taken in South Africa without the involvement of the TEC. Even the sceptics have come to accept that the TEC is playing a central role in the country, whether in matters of national or international import.

The Independent Electoral Commission, which has the task of ensuring that elections are free and fair, is fully functional. To date it has registered 27 political parties, and it is already in the process of producing 80 million ballot papers. The work of establishing polling stations and conducting voter education programmes around the country is also in progress.

Both the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority, designed to ensure free media in the run-up to the elections, are in place. The election campaign is in full swing, as leaders of the various political parties criss-cross the country in search of votes. International observers representing intergovernmental organizations, including this very body, and individual Governments, as well as a host of non-governmental organizations, are streaming into the country in order to give their support to the process and to attest to the fairness or otherwise of the elections.

All these positive developments can be credited to the dedication of our people to democracy, as evidenced by the many sacrifices they have made over the years in defence of that ideal,

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as well as the patience they have exhibited during the protracted negotiations, during which over 50,000 people were killed as a result of the violence.

It must, however, be said that whatever progress has been made in the struggle for the elimination of apartheid, it could not have been made without the support of the international community, especially the United Nations. It is therefore appropriate at this solemn meeting, which in all probability will be the last of these solidarity gatherings to be held under the auspices of the United Nations, that we pause to place on record our heartfelt appreciation to the United Nations family.

In this regard, the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid deserve special mention. For more than 30 years these bodies have played a pivotal role in placing the issue of apartheid on the international agenda. Indeed, it can be said that a measure of the Special Committee's success in carrying out its mandate is the extent to which the General Assembly has, since its adoption of the celebrated Declaration on apartheid, increasingly adopted resolutions relating to South Africa by consensus. For this, the African National Congress and the people of South Africa are immensely indebted to the Committee and its Chairman, Professor Ibrahim Gambari, who throughout this exercise displayed not only commitment to the cause, but also remarkable diplomatic skills.

During this last solemn meeting we should also like to pay tribute to the representatives of various Governments that have stayed the course, even under very difficult circumstances, in our struggle. In particular, we should like to single out the Ambassadors of the front-line States and the Ambassadors to the

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United Nations of the countries of the African Group for their unflinching support. To all of those mentioned, and many more, we should like to acknowledge that their support has brought us within reach of our common objective. We shall, however, appeal to them to continue to march with us as we seek to traverse the last mile. This is particularly pertinent, as events of the past weeks have demonstrated.

In our efforts finally to consign apartheid to the dump-hill of history, the battle has not yet been won. At the heart of the matter are two basic problems. First, there is the problem of those parties that have narrow constituencies and therefore a somewhat limited support base, both at local and national levels. Their fear, therefore, is that the electoral process will not return their members to Parliament in sufficient numbers to let them have any appreciable impact in the Parliament's constitution-making function. The so-called Freedom Alliance was an amalgam of such political parties, whose main players included the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Conservative Party, the neo-Nazi Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging and the administrations of the so-called independent Bantustans of the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

The Freedom Alliance seemed to have been united by a common desire to ensure that the ANC and its allies did not emerge victorious in the forthcoming elections. It was not too long, however, before this strategy came unstuck. The civil servants in the Ciskei became restive about their future, given that under the interim constitution the so-called independent Bantustans would be reincorporated into South Africa. The leader of the Ciskei was forced to abandon the Freedom Alliance and join the negotiations and the Transitional Executive Council.

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Bophuthatswana was faced with the same problem. Since the conflict in Bophuthatswana occurred in circumstances in which the Freedom Alliance had succeeded in getting those participating in negotiations to give concessions through amendment of the already agreed interim constitution, Mangope felt emboldened to defy the wishes of the people to participate in April elections. In so doing he overestimated the strength of the Freedom Alliance and underestimated the resolve of the people of South Africa to defend their right to vote. The rest is history, and Bophuthatswana as a political entity is no more.

The decision by General Viljoen to register the newly formed Freedom Front for the elections seriously undermined the cohesiveness of the Freedom Alliance. A serious threat to the elections nevertheless persists in the position taken by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Despite many attempts to address its concerns, including agreement to solve the outstanding constitutional differences, the IFP seems to be hell-bent on shifting the goal posts. The latest of the numerous concerns is the demand of the Zulu King, whose call for the restoration of the nineteenth-century borders of his domain must be met as a condition for IFP participation in the elections. Moreover, the IFP still insists that the elections be postponed. Clearly, these conditions are not in the least helpful, since there is no way they can be agreed to.

The second problem, which is related to the first, is that of political violence. This violence has caused great concern, first because of the sheer scale of human misery it has visited on the people of South Africa. To date, while there are no definitive figures, there is a general consensus that since the negotiation

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process started over 15,000 people have been killed, countless thousands maimed and many more rendered homeless. It is a matter of great concern that the number of casualties is much higher than was experienced during the days of extreme repression. The political violence is greatly perturbing for the additional reason that if it is not addressed effectively it may hamper the possibility of a free and fair election.

We should like to make a few observations about this violence. For many years the ANC has insisted that what the media have chosen to refer to as black-on-black violence is in fact political violence orchestrated with the involvement of some elements within the security forces. This assertion by the ANC has now been vindicated by the Goldstone Commission's report implicating top generals of the South African police in the supply of weapons, through some leaders of Inkatha, to foment violence in the hostels in the Reef and in some parts of Natal. The spate of killings in trains and during funerals has also been traced to the activities of this third force. The international community must continue to monitor, in particular, the activities of these elements attempting to undermine the democratization process now unfolding in our country. On our part, we will ensure that these criminals are brought to book and that their plans to subvert the process are halted. We continue, therefore, to attach great importance to the National Peace Accord as an important instrument for peace.

Despite all this, we believe that it is not too late to remove some of the outstanding obstacles in the way of free and fair elections. In this regard, we need to place on record that the elections will indeed take place as agreed and in all parts of South Africa. This is a challenge the people of South Africa will

(Mr. Nhlapo, ANC)

have to face. This resolve will indeed be strengthened through concrete measures of assistance from the international community, principal, among which are the following: increasing the numbers of observers and monitors, this to include support by Governments or non-governmental organizations in their countries to reinforce this much-needed presence of the international community before, during and after the elections themselves; supporting the voter-education campaign to reach, in particular, millions of our people in the remote rural areas, who, like many in urban centres, will be participating for the first time in voting for a government of their choice, thus shaping their own destiny; and continuing to render moral, political and material assistance to those who are charged by history with the enormous task of bringing democracy to South Africa. All these measures will guarantee what this Committee has all these years been seized of: the demise of the apartheid system.

We cannot conclude without expressing our firm solidarity with all those who are fighting for liberation throughout the world. In this regard, we should like to convey our greetings to the people of Palestine, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). It is our firm wish that all the obstacles to a resumption of negotiations will be addressed and that negotiations will indeed resume, resulting, in the end, in the enjoyment by the Palestinian people of their inalienable right to independence. We, on our part, pledge to do all in our power to ensure the birth of a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Mr. Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, to make a statement.

Mr. EBRAHIM (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): At the outset, allow me to thank most sincerely the Special Committee against Apartheid for inviting us to participate in this historic last meeting of the Special Committee to observe the commemoration of the 21 March 1960 massacre of our people, which resulted in the establishment of an International Day to fight against apartheid and racism.

Exactly 33 years ago, on this very day, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania called for the Positive Action Campaign against the infamous Pass Laws. This was a positive and peaceful campaign. Our people were asked to leave their obnoxious passes at home and to go to various police stations throughout the country. At Sharpeville, the trigger-happy police of the regime carried out a massacre that put the apartheid regime in its proper perspective in the eyes of the international community. They massacred 69 men, women and children at Sharpeville that day and wounded 189 persons, many of whom were shot in the back.

Since that day there have been many other massacres in our country. One can also recall the 16 June 1976 Soweto massacre of innocent children, and lastly the massacre at Boipatong. In the aftermath of that massacre, the Security Council was called upon to send an observer team to our country. It is indeed ironic that we have to wait for such massacres before we deal with systems that are correctly described by the international community as pursuing policies that are inhuman and contrary to the accepted norms of human society.

While there are developments in our country, I should like to point out here that the killings that brought about the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

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still continue in our country. I shall give some statistics. During 1993, 4,398 people were killed in politically related violence in our country, a 25.7 per cent increase on the 1992 figure. Further analysis of that figure reveals that 45 per cent of those killings took place in the PWV - Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereenegang - area; 46 per cent of that in the province of Natal; and only 9 per cent in the rest of the country. In other words, violence in our country is confined to the PWV area and to Natal. Violence there is carried out in a very systematic manner. Mainly, it is State-sponsored violence which subsequently results in bringing about inter-party rivalry.

There are other laws, such as that permitting detention without trial. Although the Multi-Party Negotiating Council, which was an important organ of the negotiating process, resolved unanimously that detention without trial should be scrapped in our country prior to the election period, it has not yet been formally scrapped.

The Pan Africanist Congress, which was an important component of the struggle against apartheid, fought for the following principles, which have now been achieved. The first was that there should be an election in our country based on one person, one vote, on a common voters' roll in a unitary South Africa. That principle has been accepted by all the participants in the negotiating process.

The second important principle was that what our country needed far more than anything else was a new non-racial, democratic constitution, which must be drawn up by elected people, and not invited people. We have now agreed to elect a 400-member National Assembly and a 90-member Senate on 26, 27 and 28 April this year,

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in order to draw up the new non-racial, democratic constitution for our country. Those are important developments.

Thirdly, we fought right from the beginning for the principle that the coming elections in our country must be all-inclusive. We can say now that, while there are developments towards bringing about all-inclusive elections, there are also problems. The major problems with regard to all-inclusive elections arose out of the formation of what has come to be known in our country as the Freedom Alliance. We can report that in the last few months the Freedom Alliance has to a large degree collapsed as an entity. First, Bophuthatswana is no longer there; and, secondly, Ciskei, which was a member of the Freedom Alliance, has decided formally to participate in the elections. Within the white right wing itself, an important section led by General Constand Viljoen has now registered and will participate in the election as the Freedom Front. That now totally isolates two elements within the white right wing - the Conservative Party of Dr. Hartzenberg and the terrorist group of Terreblanche - which remain outside the electoral process.

There is also concern, however, that a very important player in this situation in our country - the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) - has also remained outside the electoral process. It is the considered opinion of the Pan Africanist Congress that we must try by all means to make the coming elections as inclusive as possible, because to leave out the right wing of Hartzenberg and Terreblanche on the one hand, and on the other the IFP of Gatsha Buthelezi, with the involvement of the Zulu king, might lead to dire consequences in the immediate post-election period. We should either avoid them or make adequate preparations to deal with them, should they arise.

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In the coming elections in our country - the first non-racial, democratic elections based on the universal principle of one person, one vote, on a common voters' roll - it is estimated that there will be some 22 million participants. It should be pointed out here that we are going into the elections without any voter registration in our country and that despite this we now have something like 22 million participants, it is said. This creates problems, because the only authority in the country at the moment that has the right to grant citizenship is the regime. It will certainly utilize this opportunity to bring in as many voters for itself as it can. This is an issue that we are still trying to tackle and resolve, but we do not believe that there is time to bring about the desired voter registration in our country. We will therefore have to resign ourselves to the fact that there will be approximately 22 million participants who will have to prove that they were born in the country, that they have acquired citizenship over a period of time, or that they have other documentation to show that they are in fact eligible to vote.

In the assessment we carried out inside the country we also found that between 4 million and 5 million of the 22 million people who will be eligible to vote are said to be card-carrying members of various political organizations, or support those political organizations or are sentimentally attached to various political parties. Our analysis was that between 16 million and 17 million people will constitute the floating vote.

Having been abroad for many years, I noticed an interesting phenomenon after returning to South Africa two years ago. Before 2 February 1990 people in our country supported an organization simply for opposing the system, knowing that the system was in fact

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the major enemy - if not the sole enemy. Today the vast majority of those people - particularly the 16 million to 17 million floating voters - want to know what is in it for them before they part with their acquired vote. This, of course, poses a serious question: what are the concerns of our people at the moment? In our analysis, we discovered that six major concerns face the people of South Africa.

The first and most serious one, depending particularly on where one comes from, is the issue of violence and security. When people in the townships, particularly around Johannesburg, leave their homes in the morning, they do not know whether they will return alive that evening. The situation is that bad: approximately 12 persons are killed daily in politically related violence. Moreover, if they should return to their township that evening, many of them do not know if their homes will be intact or burnt down.

Violence and security is therefore a major issue, and it is now clear that the South African regime is the main perpetrator of the violence that is taking place in our country. For instance, we have for years now advocated the placing of metal detectors at train stations to protect commuters. This has never been implemented. People walk into the trains and kill other people, and over the last three years not a single person has been arrested for carrying out this senseless carnage in our country's train compartments.

Secondly, the involvement of top military officers has just been revealed. The Deputy Commissioner of the South African police force, General Smit, was suspended last Friday, together with a senior intelligence officer, General Englebrecht, for gun-running

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in our country, as was indicated by the Goldstone Commission. Thus, the involvement of the regime is not something that we are merely assuming or propagandizing. Facts have shown that these people are involved in the senseless carnage that is taking place, costing us 12 lives per day.

The other major question that concerns our people is the land issue. It has been shown that 60,000 white farmers occupy almost 87 per cent of the land area. Without a clear land-reform policy, we believe that the legacies of apartheid that the new Government will be inheriting, particularly with respect to the land issue, could, if not addressed, be a major cause of instability in the future.

The other concern is housing. Eight million people out of a population of 36 million are literally living in shacks in various parts of the country. The issue of housing is therefore of major concern. Sanitation and electricity are also key issues for the shack-dwellers in our country.

As a result of the regime's apartheid policies and its mismanagement of the economy, 47 per cent of the work force is currently jobless. Unemployment has not only further wrecked the economy, but has also led to grave socio-economic problems and an increase in the crime rate. These are issues that demand immediate attention.

Another issue of concern is that of education. We still have three educational systems and three educational institutions. The new Government that will come into being after 27 April will have to establish one national education system, incorporating the three existing institutions into one effective one. Our assessment has

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shown that a one-half per cent increase in the present education budget for the oppressed majority would make twice as many textbooks available to every child.

Last but not least is the health-care issue. Primary health care has to be taken into consideration, as the infant mortality rate among the black population is one of the highest.

These are the major concerns of our people, and they must be examined in the coming period.

The final issue of concern is the election itself: will it be free and fair? The international community, for a considerable period of time, has been preaching to us to bring about genuine democracy in our country. We have committed ourselves to do this. But genuine democracy also entails other responsibilities, which the international community should consider. Can we have free and fair elections with violence escalating, as the figures show that it is? The international community must not only look at this issue, not just send monitors to find out how many deaths there are daily, but play a proactive role in putting an end to the violence so as to ensure free and fair elections, particularly in the Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Veereeniging - PWV - area and in the Province of Natal. Furthermore, can we have free and fair elections if the election funds being poured into the country by the international community are lopsided - if they are not equally distributed among all the participants in our country? This is the issue that concerns our people: can we have free and fair elections?

Despite that, I wish to assure you, Mr. Chairman, that the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania will contest the elections. It has registered to contest them nationally, and it has also registered

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to contest them in all nine Provinces. We intend to intensify our campaign in the next five weeks.

Two major questions are also being debated by many South Africans. First, should the elections be all-inclusive, and secondly, what steps should we take to ensure that they are? As I pointed out earlier, we are committed to trying to bring about elections that are as all-inclusive as possible, and I think that all possible efforts should be made to meet whatever concerns others have in order to ensure that this is the case.

As regards the date of the election, given that the PAC has very limited resources to campaign for the elections, we can only hope that they will take place on 26, 27 and 28 April so as to allow us to participate as effectively as possible, because we do not have the resources for a long, drawn-out electoral campaign.

We also recognize that any postponement of the elections will also contribute to an increase in violence. That is unacceptable. But we also know that the international community has a presence in our country and that any postponement would entail further financial implications for its members as well. In the light of all this, we believe that the elections should take place on 26, 27 and 28 April. However, if we are assured and given guarantees that postponing the elections for a fortnight at most would lead to an all-inclusive election, it might be a sacrifice worth making - if it became necessary. But we would need a guarantee backed by the international community to ensure that that is what would happen.

However, at the same time we want to emphasize that, in our view, the elections should be held as soon as possible, and that 26, 27 and 28 April are the dates that we accept.

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I should now like to revert to the question of international involvement in our country. As I have said, we regret that it came about as a result of massacres. It was the Sharpeville massacre that highlighted the regime's atrocities in our country; it took the Boipatong massacre to get the Security Council to send monitors to our country. We welcome their presence there. But we should like to see the international community play a far more proactive role. For example, we should like to see it deal with the presence of mercenaries in our country. We have mercenaries brought in by the regime from Angola, people that they trained there to destabilize Angola, and from Namibia - the Koevoet Battalion, in particular - which they had trained to fight the South West Africa People's Organization, as well as to fight the independence of the people of Namibia. We also have the Seles Scouts, brought from former Rhodesia - they are now part and parcel of the security system - and RENAMO elements brought into our country and stationed there.

We believe that the international community should demand from the regime a list of these people who are in our country; the international community should be told where they are and, if possible, they should all be confined in a secure place and held there under international supervision. We believe that if this were done there would be a sharp de-escalation in the violence, particularly in the PWV area and in Natal.

We of the Pan Africanist Congress have raised this issue with the regime. I personally discussed it with the so-called Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Ernest Kriel, who admitted the presence of these people and told me that they had been brought in because of their loyalty. When I pressed him - to find out against whom they

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were to be deployed in our country - he told me that these people were very good at tracking down cattle thieves, and that they had been brought into the country to do so. I had no alternative but to ask him "how come they haven't arrested you yet, if they are so efficient at tracking down and arresting cattle thieves?" Bringing about an end to the presence of these people in our country is a matter in which we think that the international community can play a very important role.

As you said in your statement, Mr. Chairman, there will be around 9,000 polling booths throughout the country on the day of the elections. That shows that our country is vast; it also shows that it is important to make the polling booths accessible to every voter in our country. Will 1,800 United Nations monitors be able effectively to monitor 9,000 polling booths? It would need a miracle. And while we still believe that miracles do happen, we believe that only a miracle would ensure that 1,800 monitors in our country could effectively monitor 9,000 polling booths throughout the country. It is important that the international community should look at these figures and try to bring about some sort of acceptable solution to this problem.

Concerning the international community's involvement, we are glad that the United Nations is there in South Africa and that it is coordinating. We know that the United Nations is there; that the Organization of African Unity is there; that the Commonwealth is there; that the European Community is there. We hope that the Non-Aligned Movement will soon be there as well, and we also know that African countries and non-governmental organizations are also sending their people there. We would like to see the United Nations coordinate all these monitors so as to broaden the 1,800 to

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incorporate those others that may be sent there privately or through a non-governmental organization. The Independent Electoral Commission is in fact now carrying out the registration of all the monitors who are coming into the country, and perhaps the United Nations could coordinate this with the Commission.

The Pan Africanist Congress, having fought for all these years for the ballot, was able, when the ballot was secured in January this year, to sit down in Harare with the apartheid regime and come to a mutual moratorium on the conflict that existed between the South African Defence Force and the Azanian People's Liberation Army. We now have in place, as of 16 January this year, a mutual moratorium between the armed formations of the regime and the armed formation of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and we believe that this decision by the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Liberation Army constitutes a contribution to the peaceful solution of the problem in our country.

I should like to take this opportunity to condemn, in the strongest possible terms, the massacre of innocent Palestinians recently in occupied Palestine. It reminds our people of our own experience, of our struggle against occupiers. We say to the Palestinian people that, just as the Sharpeville massacre, the Soweto uprising and the Boipatong massacre failed to achieve what the oppressors wanted - namely, to bring about a state of despair amongst the people - such massacres in fact bring about the opposite result: they unite the people and make them even more determined to continue with their legitimate struggle - in Palestine, the struggle to bring about the Palestinian people's independence and freedom from occupation. Our solidarity goes out

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on this Day to them and to all those who are struggling to bring about freedom and justice and to end racism and apartheid all over the world.

The Pan Africanist Congress is grateful to the Special Committee against Apartheid, to you, Mr. Chairman, in particular, and to all your staff, who have worked tirelessly to bring this inhumanity to the attention of the international community and who are participating in bringing about the coming elections in our country. We only hope that in the post-election period we will live up to the expectations of our people and of the international community.

The CHAIRMAN: I invite the last speaker, Mr. Nasser Al-Kidwa, Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, to make his statement.

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. Chairman, I wish at the outset to express our deep appreciation for your having invited us to participate in this solemn, important meeting on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

The most hideous form of all the manifestations of racial discrimination, in its broadest sense, is apartheid. I wish to thank the members of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and to thank you personally, Mr. Chairman, for your efforts and most valuable participation in and contributions to the international struggle to eliminate racial discrimination and its regime in South Africa.

Perhaps our meeting today is significant in that we are, in the final analysis, close to achieving our common goal. If the people of South Africa have been able, by dint of many sacrifices

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over many years, to come close to vanquishing the hideous regime, then this is a sign of hope.

Next month these people will launch South Africa as a democratic and non-racial State, free of racial discrimination, that can provide justice to all its people - not only political justice, but also economic and social justice.

In the mean time, we cannot conceal some concern about certain phenomena and certain positions prevailing in southern Africa. But we are confident that the people of South Africa will be able to prevail and to overcome all their difficulties. We are also confident that the international community as a whole has the desire and the intention to provide all the necessary assistance, especially through the United Nations.

We, the Palestinian people, regard the people of southern Africa and its struggling political forces as more than a partner in our common struggle against the forces of oppression, persecution and discrimination and for the attainment of justice; we also regard that people and those forces as a source of inspiration and learning because their experience in South Africa is rich and significant, especially as they approach the achievement of victory.

I wish to take the opportunity to convey to the representatives of this struggling people the best wishes of our Palestinian people, as well as the Palestinian leadership, for their success and that of the political leaders of South Africa, foremost among whom is President Nelson Mandela. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate once more my thanks to the Special Committee and to the United Nations Centre against Apartheid.

The CHAIRMAN: We have just heard the last speaker of our meeting today. Before adjourning, I wish to state that on the occasion of the International Day many Heads of State or Government have graciously sent messages to the Special Committee. They include messages from the Heads of State or Government of the following countries: Algeria, Bangladesh, Cyprus, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nigeria, Senegal and Tunisia. A message has been received from the Government of Brazil.

Messages from Ministers of Foreign Affairs and other government officials have also been received. They include messages from Syria and Guinea.

Finally, messages have been received from international, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, including a message from the European Union.

I would suggest that, in accordance with previous practice, and taking into account the usual financial implications, the text of these messages be published in a document of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: In concluding today's observance, I should like to express once again the Special Committee's gratitude and thanks to all the participants in our solemn meeting for their support and solidarity with the many who have suffered so long under apartheid, and with all those who are still the victims of racial discrimination. I also wish to call upon them and upon the international community at large to redouble their moral and financial support to ensure that the elections to be held in South Africa from 26 to 28 April 1994 are free from violence and intimidation and are conducted in accordance with the agreements

(The Chairman)

reached through the negotiating process in South Africa, in order for the results to be respected within South Africa and recognized internationally as fair and democratic.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.